

















FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1864.

## SPEECH OF SENATOR DOOLITTLE.

(Continued.)

Mr. Sumner: Mr. President, with the permission of the Senate from Wisconsin, I move that the Senate take a recess for half an hour. It is evident, that there is no quorum here at this moment.

[The passage of General Burnside's Army corps at this time in the streets interrupted proceedings.]

Mr. Doolittle: Mr. President, I said that I did not intend to enter upon the discussion of the question of the propriety of negro suffrage. I can very well understand how it is that the New England States, where there are very few persons of African descent, where they are generally educated or tolerably well educated, where from their modes of life and association with the most thrifty and intelligent people in the world, they become entirely competent to discharge the duties of electors, the people of New England under these circumstances, and do, and may very properly extend the right of suffrage to people of African descent. In the State of New York, where there are more persons of this description, I can very well understand how the people of that State do and properly may, in their organic law, give the right of suffrage to this class of people with a qualification. The extension of New York, therefore, requires a property qualification as shall determine their competency, at least to take care of themselves. It requires them to be worth the sum of \$250. When you come to the State of Pennsylvania, where there is a still larger number of those people, I can also very well understand why the people of Pennsylvania in their constitution may think proper to exclude from the right of suffrage this class of persons altogether. So too, in the State of New Jersey. In the State of Ohio—and Ohio is certainly to be regarded as one of the most earnest of all the Republican States, devoted to the maintenance of the Republic and to the cause of human liberty—the constitution restricts the right of suffrage to white male citizens. I read the language of the constitution of Ohio:

"Every white male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election," &c., "shall be entitled to exercise the right of suffrage," and under this provision it has been decided in that State, that the offspring of a white man and a half-breed Indian woman is entitled to vote. Being more than one-half white entitles him to the privilege of this constitutional amendment.

In the State of Indiana the constitution and laws are still more stringent against extending the right of suffrage to persons of African descent; while in the great State of Illinois, one of the greatest among the great States of the West, in the adoption of a new constitution not long since, the people by a most overwhelming majority decided against the extension of the right of suffrage to persons of African descent.

In the great State of New York, where this question was submitted by itself, distinctly unconnected with any party or any other question, the question of the extension of universal negro suffrage pure and simple, the people of that State by a majority of one hundred and ninety thousand decided against extending it beyond what it now is in the constitution of that State with its qualification.

Mr. Morrill: Will the Senator allow me to ask him when that was?

Mr. Doolittle: About 1842 or 1843, I think.

Mr. Morrill: Was that on an amendment of the constitution?

Mr. Doolittle: The question was submitted distinctly by itself on a proposed amendment of the constitution.

Mr. Morrill: The Senator must be aware that by the first constitution of the State of New York there was no distinction on account of color.

Mr. Doolittle: It was since the constitution of 1821; in the constitution adopted about—

Mr. Morgan: 1846.

Mr. Doolittle: About 1846. I remember it very well, for I was then a resident of the State of New York.

Now, Mr. President, how is it with the free State of West Virginia, with a constitution recently adopted, a State which has given freedom to all persons of African descent? By a constitutional provision of that State they restrict the right of suffrage to white male citizens. In Wisconsin, where there are much fewer persons of this description than there are in the States bordering on the Ohio river, and where our people would have much less objection to the extension of the right of suffrage than they would in many of the other States, colored persons are not allowed to vote.

In our State the question has been twice submitted, and twice have the people voted against it, by large and decisive majorities; and yet the State of Wisconsin itself would have less repugnance and opposition to the adoption of such a measure than many of the other States.

If the question were submitted to me in any given State, for instance in the State of Wisconsin, if I were there and the question were submitted to me, and I was called upon to vote on it, without any discussion, the propriety of voting for or against the extension of negro suffrage in the State of Wisconsin, I could very properly and very consistently vote for it. In the State of New York, when the question was up and discussed as a practical question addressed to the citizens of New York, I did vote for it as a citizen of that State.

But, sir, that is not the question at all. The question is, shall we now raise this new issue; shall we put this among other issues into the great contest which is immediately before us? ["Never!" from the galleries.]

Mr. Sumner: Order! Order!

Mr. Doolittle: I will not say the time will never come when this race, to which personal freedom is, as I believe, surely coming, as the result of this war, and by that amendment of the Constitution of the United States which I trust in God two thirds of Congress and the people of three fourths of the States are about to adopt, may be educated up to the point where it would be proper to extend to them the right of suffrage in all the States; but that time has not yet come. In those States where the shackles of slavery are just struck off from hundreds and thousands of these persons, we must wait the development of events and time; wait till they have exercised and enjoyed their freedom; wait until they shall have shown themselves capable of discharging the duties and bearing the responsibilities of good citizens before we declare in favor of any such proposition; and, besides, this question must be passed upon by each State for itself. If there be one right which belongs to a State in its capacity as an independent State in this Union, it is its right to prescribe the qualification of its own electors; of those who have the right to cast its suffrages. The time may come when the States may properly enact laws providing that persons of African descent who shall have faithfully served in the armies

of the country, and fought the battles of the Union, and shown themselves to be good soldiers, may be admitted to the enjoyment of this right. The time may come, before some competent court or tribunal, persons of African descent may be permitted, on showing themselves sufficiently well educated, or that for a given number of years as heads of families they have supported themselves and taken care of their families, or upon some other proper terms, may be admitted to the right of suffrage. I will not say, these things will not come, nor can I say how soon they shall come. It is not yet come; at all events, it is my solemn belief that of all things, the most unwise we could now enter upon is for the Congress composed of members and Senators representing States and districts, a large majority of whose people in their constitutions deny the right of negro suffrage, within their own States, to pass a law, or in any other form to declare and extend to negroes the right of suffrage in the Territories of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, or wherever we have power to legislate.

Sir, we have upon our hands issues enough. The single issue of this war is enough. It is all the human mind can grasp, and more than any yet have been able to resolve. This gigantic struggle is to determine whether republican government shall live or die; whether a constitutional form of government, resting upon the people for its support, can be maintained, or must perish forever; whether the union of these States is to be maintained or broken; whether we are to have or to be without rights and liberties as free citizens of this great Republic under the Constitution of the United States, or succumb to rebellion, conspiracy, and military despotism. From the course of events, from the military necessity in the prosecution of this war, and as it seems to me—say it with reverence—by providential dispensation, the existence of slavery has become involved in this contest. The prosecution of this war to a final triumph on the part of the United States will of necessity destroy slavery within all those States in rebellion against the Government. These issues are large enough and broad enough to demand all our time and all our energies, all our means, our whole might, mind and strength to accomplish that great purpose.

What is the state of the country? We are engaged in a war which has no parallel in human history. This whole country, from Maine to the Rio Grande, trembles under the tread of armed men. One of our great corps d'armee, under General Burnside, is this moment passing through the streets of Washington, marching across the Potomac to engage in the greatest battle this continent or the world has seen for two generations; and on the result of which, perhaps, hang not only the hopes of this Republic, but the hopes of the world.

We are gathering our forces from the East and from the West; we are massing our strength; we are pouring out our men, our blood, our treasures like water; not only all our own treasure, all we of this generation have and all we hope to have, but we are mortgaging in advance the property and the earnings of generations to come after us, to raise the means necessary to sustain our cause and win the decisive victory.

Our country at this hour is bleeding at every pore; every household wears the drapery of mourning; grief sits an unwelcome visitor at every fireside; an unbidden guest fills the vacant chair at the mourning widow or mother, bends in anguish, deep and unutterable, at every family altar. Sir, some of us have been made to drink of this bitter cup; there are some like my honorable friend from Maine, [Mr. Fessenden], and myself, who have been compelled to look into the graves of our sons, fallen a sacrifice to put down this unholy rebellion. And, sir, we have been made to feel, in our inmost souls, that our judgments clearly see, that the great issue of this people and especially of this present time, and before which all others should give place, is an issue of arms—whether we will have success or whether we shall fail in crushing the military power of the rebellion.

Shall the Republic live or die? We not only know but we are made to feel that if we do not succeed in maintaining this government and putting down this rebellion—and that can only be done by force of arms—our sons have been sacrificed in vain. But if we shall succeed, as with the blessing of Providence, I hope and trust we may; if we shall be permitted to see that standard, under which they entered the service, float once more in triumph, with not one star obscured nor one stripe erased, over every inch of the soil of every State and Territory of the United States, we can then say to our struggling hearts, "Peace, be still! though our sons have fallen, our country lives!"

We know, we feel, that in war as in religion and in every other great department of life, there is, and there can be, but one all-absorbing, controlling issue to be decided at the same time. We are told in holy writ, "Seek first the kingdom of heaven and the right righteousness and all other things shall be added unto you." And in this war of our country for its very life, we should seek first, last, and all the time to do nothing, to engage in nothing, to say nothing, but that which gives force to our armies, or raises the money to sustain them. When this war is past; when peace shall smile once more in beauty all around us; when there is no more blood to be shed; when there are no more sons to be sacrificed upon the altar, then, if you will, open the Senate Chamber to become a debating school for all the abstractions you please.

Mr. President, as I have said already, my respect for my honorable friend from Minnesota, I feel sure that in all his acts here he is guided only by the highest and most patriotic motives. But at the same time I cannot refrain from expressing my deep regret that an issue should have been raised at this time, or should appear to have been raised at this moment before the people of the country upon this distracting question of negro suffrage.

In God's name let us first save the Union; let us crush the rebellion; let us give freedom to the negroes as the necessary result of the prosecution of this war, and secure it by constitutional amendment. But let us postpone the discussion and action upon this and all other issues, which can only serve to distract, divide and weaken the energies of the loyal people in this great struggle. For myself, I would so conduct our affairs, if it were within my power, that the people of the free States, in this controversy, should stand together as one man, shoulder to shoulder, speaking but one voice, breathing but one sentiment, the hearts pulsating with one wish, that is, to save the Government, crush the rebellion, and trample the slave confederacy in pieces.

But what else do we see? I do not hold the Senator from Minnesota solely responsible. This is but one measure of a whole class of measures tending to raise the question of negro suffrage as well as political equality. Of my honorable friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] I have sometimes thought in my heart I had some right to complain, not personally of him, but of propositions that he is disposed to bring forward from time to time, that to me seem to have no bearing whatever on the great issue, and tend to nothing, but to distract the public mind and divide

the hearts and energies of loyal men. Upon any other subject but the negro question my honorable friend can appreciate what I am about to say, as well as I can any other Senator. As an instance, we all know, and none better than that Senator, how important it is for us to have the moral support, sympathy, and if not the friendship, at least the strict neutrality of foreign Governments in this struggle. If we can retain them legitimately and honorably. At all events, he knows as well as I how disastrous it would be for us to raise an issue with England or France which might lead them to recognize the confederacy, much more should they enter into an alliance with the confederacy and take sides against any such thing and that, but let me say to my honorable friend that, in my judgment, and before high Heaven, I declare would be of much more importance to us if we could make the whole people of New York, of Pennsylvania, of the great West, and of all the loyal States, unanimously sustain the Union cause, shake hands together, and declare, "We will know nothing but the Union and the vigorous prosecution of the war; and we will say nothing, but fill the Treasury, fill the ranks, and press on the rebellion until the last flag of the rebellion is put under our feet; we will have no divisions in our ranks, no unnecessary controversies, until this struggle is over; we will all march together, shoulder to shoulder, and keep step to the music of the Union." I say, and I say it all sincerely, that at this hour, if it were in my power, I would give more to have the whole people of the free States of this Union join with us, hand in hand, in political action, as well as in arms, with no divided voice and no divided sentiment, in the support of this Government, and to crush the rebellion, than to have England and France, one or both together, join us in the war against the confederacy.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[Advertisement.]

INSURE WITH THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF WISCONSIN—IT IS THE BEST COMPANY FOR WESTERN MEN!—These reasons why this is the best Company, are: That it is a Western Company, made up of and managed by Western men, doing all or nearly all its business in the Northwest, and concentrating in this one Company a superior class of risks, mostly of young men, or men in the prime of life, and they selected with as great care in regard to eligibility to Life Insurance, as are the risks of any other company.

It is true that the Company has neither the age nor the accumulations of some eastern companies, but is guiding the latter very fast; is vigorous for one of its age; is doing a large business, having issued 537 policies in the months of December and January just passed, and is doing its business as economically as the same can be done anywhere. It has for its guide, the experience of all other companies, and among its managers some of the best business men in the northwest.

This is the first successful effort ever made to build up a similar institution in the West, and it should be the pride, as it certainly is the interest, of every business man in this section of the State, to identify himself with its growth.

This Company issues non-forfeiting policies, upon which premiums are paid in five or ten annual payments. These non-forfeiting policies are very desirable, as they guarantee to the policy holder the benefit of all the money that he pays into the Company, and also enable him to pay his premiums for the whole of life while he is young, or at an early period, thus relieving him from the burden of payment in old age. Insurance upon this plan, (as well as on all other policies that this Company issues) become due and payable at death, should death occur before the ten years expire.

It also issues the endowment policy which becomes due and payable to the party assured at a stated age specified. These latter policies are becoming quite popular, and are particularly desirable for young men.

OFFICERS.

S. S. DAGGETT, President; SANES BUNNELL, Vice President; C. D. NASH, Treasurer; A. W. KOLLOGG, Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

S. S. DAGGETT, JAMES B. BURNETT, H. L. PALMER, J. H. VAN DYKE, C. T. LESTER, H. G. WILSON, Gen'l Agent.

WILLARD MERRILL, Agent, Janesville.

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GREAT SLAUGHTER

—IN—

MILLINERY GOODS.

Wishing to close up my business, I now offer my Entire Stock of Goods at Cost!

It being the largest and best selected stock of Spring Goods in the city, consisting in Straw Bonnets, Hats, Ribbons, Laces, and everything usually kept in the Millinery line. Parties wishing anything in Millinery Goods can

Save from 30 to 50 Per Cent.

by examining my stock before making their purchase. The best of first class trimmings to make ordered work. Rooms, West Milwaukee street. S. O. DUKKEE.

DISSOLUTION OF Co-Partnership.

The firm heretofore known under the name of L. FIELD & BRO. is this day dissolved. All debts due or contracted previous to the 2d of May, 1864, must be settled at once to save cost. The accounts will be given to the person to be found at our office. This is the last call. So long as you please.

L. FIELD & BRO. have this day associated with them E. L. FIELD. The business will in future be conducted under the name and style of L. FIELD & BRO. We are prepared to furnish labor at the lowest market price for cash, having no land and no other business, and are therefore able to give a constant market of mill, and can save bills to order at short notice.

Thankful to the public for past favors, we hope to merit a continuance of their patronage.

Janesville, May 24, 1864.

CIRCUIT COURT for Rock County.

S. J. BURTON, Clerk.

You are hereby summoned and required to appear before the Circuit Court for Rock County, at its office at the Court House in Janesville, on the 27th day of May, 1864, to answer to the complaint within twenty days after the service hereof, exclusive of the day of such service; and if you fail to do so, judgment will be rendered against you for the sum of two hundred and thirty-five dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of five hundred and forty dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of one thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of two thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of three thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of four thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars and costs, and every day thereafter until the sum of five thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars and costs, and every day 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